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so that it can be turned up and puckered. Sinews are chewed and rolled on the thigh. The toe-tongue is then sewed to the sole with these, beginning at the toe and working toward both sides (Fig. 43). The stitching is concealed; the sinew passing but partially through the two pieces of hide. The ankle flap (D), from which legs and fragment of neck are roughly trimmed, is fitted to the leg; a line being drawn on it around the heel between the midpoints on each side of the foot (E). The ankle piece is now sewed to the sole along this line; the long free end being on the inside of the foot. Little reënforcement thongs are inserted on each side where the uppers meet the sole. The upper edge of the ankle flap is serrated: this edge is turned down outside when the flap is bound about the ankle.

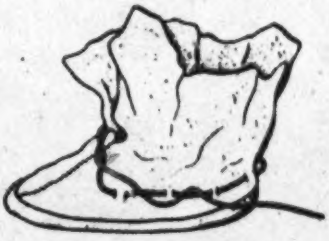

Fig. 45 (50.2-1280a). A Buckskin Overshoe for use in Snow.

An overshoe (*mahanyákwóva*) for use in the snow[1] is made of an oval piece of buckskin extending 15 cm. beyond the sole on all sides. A thong runs through holes around the edge. This is stuffed with soft, crushed cedar-bark and drawn up around the moccasin. These are also attributed to the Walapai. Another type (Fig. 45) but little larger than the ordinary moccasin is really a one-piece moccasin to which a hard sole has been added. The upper is sewed from toe to instep and part way up the heel. This leaves two flaps which stand about the ankle above the tie-thong which is threaded through holes cut but a little above the sole.

Personal Ornamentation

Havasupai styles of personal decoration are not extravagant: hair dressing, painting, and tattooing are only moderately developed.

Men wear their hair full length, to the small of the back, parting it front and back at the ears. The front hair is banged across the forehead just below the eyebrows, leaving the hair at the temples to be cut off on the level of the nipples. The long back hair is bundled back and forth on itself to lie at the nape: the knot (*gúdakóva*) is bound around with a fibet,[2] a woven ribbon of Hopi or Navaho manufacture, or a band of buckskin. The last is broad enough (6 cm.) to conceal the entire knot

[1] Netted snowshoes are not known.
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

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with the exception of the top. It is decorated with a band of indifferently colored porcupine quills similar to that placed on moccasins. A headband or a squirrel skin cap is added to confine the hair. One such band (50.2–126) is made of a strip of deer legskin, with the ends sewed with a running stitch. (The sinew, as in all sewing, is prevented from pulling out by a simple knot in each end.)

Women's hair is banged below the eyebrows to the outside of the eyes and at the sides and back to the shoulders or a little below. When rather long it tends to fall in front of the face; it is then brushed back, not over the shoulders, but so that it can be caught under the chin. Or the locks above the ears are tied together at the occiput, enclosing those at the temples.[1] Girls' hair is dressed like that of their mothers. Cushing observed that the small boy's hair was cut short except for a long tuft on top, "like the crest of a quail."

Feathers are, perhaps, worn only on gala occasions; their function, when worn at dances, by men and women, is to cause the rain to fall.[2] Only eagle feathers are used and the down is preferred to the plumes. The typical decoration is a bunch of down, 20 to 25 cm. long, pendent in the back from a cord, 10 to 15 cm. in length, tied to the top of the head. (The cord, lapping the quill, is bound to it with a wrapping of sinew.) Plumes are also stuck upright in the headband at the right temple. One specimen (50.2–1328) consists of two plumes 37 cm. long, placed side by side, and held in place by a sinew lashing and a peg piercing both. Two small downy feathers are lashed to the shaft of each at its tip.

Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind.[3]

Fig. 46 (50.2–1894). A Mescal Fiber Hairbrush bound with Buckskin.

The hairbrush (*tcī''ī*, any brush) is a bundle of stiff fibers from mescal leaves, folded in two, and bound with buckskin halfway to the free ends. A cap of buckskin or cloth is stuck over the butt with pinon pitch and tied about with a thong. A new brush is 11 to 13 cm. long by 2 to 4 cm. in diameter (Fig. 46). As the fibers break off in use, the end is evened by burning. The principal use of brushes is by women; men, as a

[1] It is not held in the mouth in the manner of the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

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302 [515] rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

[825] According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

301 [439] Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the [751] neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2–1621), modern in [171] type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such [439] necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

304 When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and with- [751] out esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants 301 are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads [439] hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

[304] Huge earrings of silver or braided cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

301 306 Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and fore- finger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sĕlĕrĭlŭkŏ*; *sĕl*, finger, hand; *dĭdĭd*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

302 While face painting (*djidlelgd*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] Not not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 268).
[2] Cushing, (a), 644.

[Text continues on p. 196]

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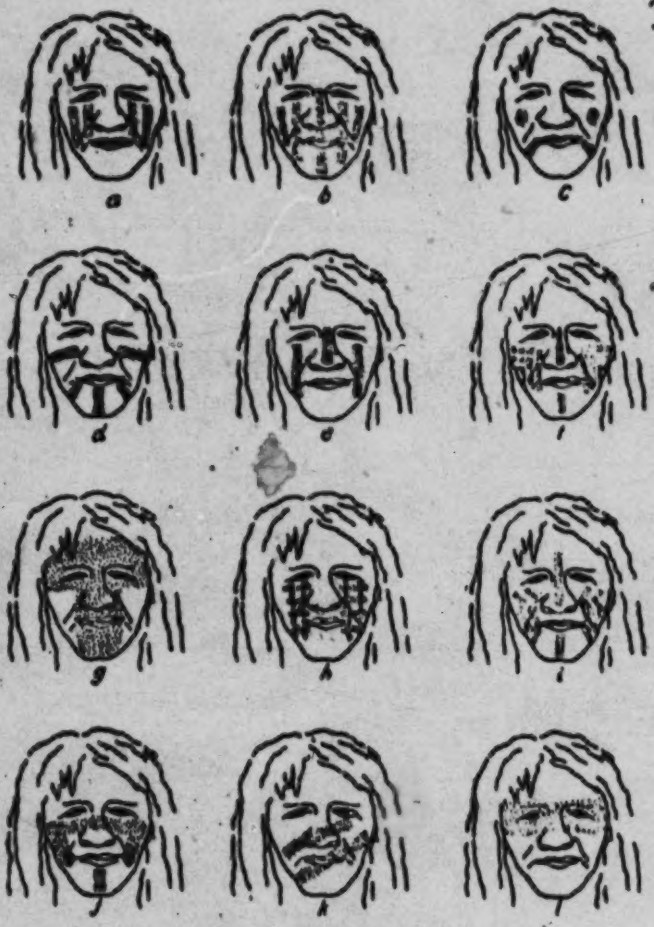

Fig. 47. Styles of Facial Painting.

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302 charms, and old women are given to the practice. All painting is decorative; quite devoid of esoteric significance. The most common decoration, particularly that of the old women, is painting the front of the face, within the frame of the hair, red.[1] Equally common are two red spots, one on each cheek bone. Infrequent styles, worn by men, are similar spots, of red, but bordered by sienna, and three horizontal lines on each cheek with a stripe down the forehead. The styles shown in Fig. 47 are redrawn from sketches by a native, who arranged them in the order of their popularity; styles *g* to *l* are but infrequently used. All of these styles were said to be in use by young women, but sometimes young men would use *a*, *g* and *k*, while *h* was peculiar to little girls. It seems rather that there is great latitude in the use, form, and coloring of these paintings. Ordinarily executed in red, black, sienna, or white may be used, except that *g* was said to be red alone, *h* red or mescal, and *l* blue. The figures are frequently bordered or filled in with a second color, as white between red or black in *a*, sienna around red dots in *c*, or a sienna border within the figure in *j*. There are no special names for these styles of painting. The old style apron-dress left women's legs exposed; old (?) women painted them red from ankle to knee.

386 317 Red paint is not obtainable near the village, but is taken from a mine on Diamond Creek in Walapai territory. The mine entrance is a small orifice in the face of a cliff, which can only be reached by a ladder. Only one man at a time can enter, crawling flat, dragging a sack under him. The powdered red clay is scooped into the sack, which is held under the arm as he backs out. This is dangerous work, for more than one man has been killed in the crevice. A second mine is located east of Grand View in their own range. Black paint (*matknyddjĕ*, black earth) is scraped from a stratum in a trench at Pine Springs, also in Walapai territory. Charcoal is not used. The red and black powders are kept 386 in little buckskin bags, sewed with a running stitch, with a thong bound about the neck. The red powder is sometimes mixed with water so that it can be rolled into a ball and kept in a bag in this form. Powder is scratched from the ball with the thumb nail until a pinch is collected in the palm. Cold grease, preferably deer, is kept in another bag; it will not spoil for a month or so. It is chewed until soft, kneaded with the [302] powder in the hand, and smeared on the face with the fingers. Black paint is not mixed with grease, but a stick, moistened in the mouth, is inserted in the nearly closed neck of the bag. For a white paint (*matkhé'e*

[171] [1] The Walapai are said sometimes to paint their faces black in this manner instead of red.

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white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (*vialtdélled*, mescal—) is the dried juice of roasted mescal (p. 108). The stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva.

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (*dĭnyădĭgd*[1]) is very moderate, consisting usually of small decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other

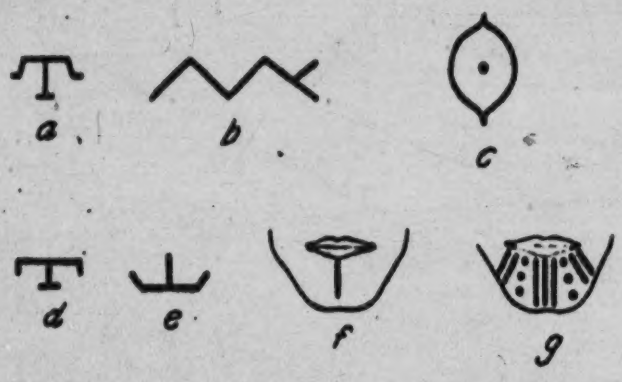

Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. *a-c*, Center of man's forehead; *f*, *g*, Woman's chin.

parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides those figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children; with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally

[1] Also signifying writing: *pad'ăgădĭ* means both photograph and camera (*apá*, mine).

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Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, a people of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Salinan, Miwok, Southern and Northern Maidu, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, Paviotso, Gosiute, Southern (?) Ute, and Northern Shoshoni.[1] There is some variation in the details of manufacture which provides comparative data. The Southern Diegueño and Havasupai warp these upon rows of stakes; the Hopi do not. The Maidu resemble the Paviotso in warping them over two poles.[2]

Descriptions of hair dress are lacking in precision and the situation is somewhat complex. A style consisting of doubling up the long back hair into a knot or queue at the back of the head is common to the Havasupai, Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. Yet there is considerable difference even here: the Pueblos bang the hair over the forehead and cut that at the sides square; the Havasupai, while they too use the bang, wear the hair at the temples long. The Rio Grande Pueblos are said to arrange it behind in two clubs.[3]

Westward of this group the style calls for the bang on the forehead but long hair behind, even artificially lengthened. There appear to be two general styles of treating this back hair. It is simply wrapped without braiding by the Yavapai, Apache-Yuma,[4] Chemehuevi,[5] and Southern Diegueño.[6] On the lower Colorado and Gila the back hair hangs in long plaits or rolls: Mohave, Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and probably Cocopa.[7] The Maricopa and Pima alternatively arrange it in a club at the back. The Mohave and Walapai, like the Seri, also part it in the middle and allow it to hang loose. The Walapai sometimes wear a braid on each side. Like the Havasupai, the Maricopa and Cocopa have pendent ear locks.

The position of the Western Apache is not clear. The Tonto wore the hair banged at the eyebrows and longer behind, but not to the shoulders, or they cut it short all around. The San Carlos trimmed it, but wore no bang.[8]

[1] Stevenson, M. C., (b), 370; Hough, (d), 262; Franciscan Fathers, 141; Curtis, II, 93; Russell, (d), 158; Spier, (e), 346; Sparkman, 260; Yates, 375; Mason, J. A., (a), 127; Powers, 338, 351; Faye, 38; Dixon, (a), 148 (where the blankets are used more in the Sierras than in the Sacramento valley); Lowie, (j), 196, 216, 217, 228; Dellenbaugh, 178; Chamberlin, (b), 330; Lowie, (a), 178.

[2] Among the Paviotso weaving is the work of men, but sometimes of women. It would be interesting to know whether this is connected with Pueblo loom weaving, formerly a man's art as with the manufacture of all clothing by men, as among the Havasupai. [462]

[3] Stephen, 355; Franciscan Fathers, 404; Hough, (e), 245; Gabbard, (c), Zuñi, 80.

[4] "Long matted rolls of false hair behind" (Corbusier, 279); Bourke, (d), 444.

[5] Clathored "by a narrow band, from which it hangs loosely down the back" — or does this mean a headband encircling loose hair? (Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33).

[6] Spier, (e), 346.

[7] Heintzelman, 48; Trippel, 505; Russell, (d), 158; Cremony, 90; Bandelier, (a), 253. Bartlett, I, 432, II, 217, 230; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33. The Quarrar, a tribe found by Oñate at the mouth of the Gila in 1604-5, had a similar hairdress (Bandelier, (a), 111). Mota, 227, see also Lumholtz, (a), 6; Curtis, II, 93.

[8] Smart, 418; Hrdlička, (d), 480.

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171 302 Plains hair dress is affected to the east. Mescalero, Taos, Picuris, Southern Ute, and Northern Shoshoni men wear their hair in braids, sometimes wrapping them with strips of fur. This was apparently the earlier Navaho style. It is, on the contrary, of recent introduction among the Northern Shoshoni, who in earlier times wore the hair loose and parted in the middle in the manner of the Wind River Shoshoni.[1]

The case is simpler with regard to women's hairdress. Apparently throughout the Basin and among most of the rancheria peoples of the Southwest women wore their hair loose. In Arizona it was usually cut straight across the forehead to form a low bang and in the back at the level of the shoulders (Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, San Carlos Apache, and some Mohave). Pima, Maricopa, and Yuma followed the same style, but the back hair may have been somewhat longer, hanging even to the middle of the back. The Southern Diegueño add only braids at the temples.[2] Aside from these, Plains influence has apparently affected the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni and the Southern Ute, who part the hair in the middle though they do not braid it. The older Pueblo style of two whorls of hair on the side of the head, described by Castañeda for the Zuñi, is perpetuated only by Hopi maidens. The older women in those pueblos wear two short braids. Elsewhere, the hair is banged in front and cut square just below the ears in back, but at Zuñi at least the hair is parted from ear to ear over the crown of the head and the rear portion tied in a queue. Navaho women, like the men, draw the hair straight back and club it behind. The Achomawi and Atsugewi wear it in two braids wrapped with minkskin in front of the shoulders. Illustrations of a Cocopa and some Mohave show it hanging loose about the shoulders from a central part.[3]

171 [301] A feather hair ornament consisting of a bunch of down pendent from the top of the head by a short cord is worn by the Havasupai, Yavapai,[4] and by Zuñi dancers. It may be more generally distributed in the Southwest.

[412] A brush of stiff fibers similar to the Havasupai hairbrush is made by the Pima and Huichol.[5]

[301] Ear pendants worn by Yavapai of both sexes are quite similar to those of the Havasupai: strings of beads, five to six inches long, with mother-of-pearl or stone pendants.[6]

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[1] Pattie, 164; Goddard, (r), 2nd ed., 84; Lowie, (i), 216, 217; (a), 182; Franciscan Fathers, 80. For a western group see Dixon, (e), 210.
[2] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 806; Bartlett, II, 223.
[3] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 220, 930; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 371.
[4] Corbusier, 380.
[5] Russell, (d), 116; Kissell, 145; Lumholtz, (e), II, 223.
[6] Corbusier, 380, 382.

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The Yavapai resemble the Havasupai in their preference for red paint and in their use of the juice of burnt mescal.[1] 171 302

In this connection it is interesting to note that red paint is associated with war by some of these tribes and further that its use may have spread westward in recent times. The Wind River Shoshoni and Klamath use it in war.[2] I have recorded an incident (p. 361) in which a Paiute who has killed a Mormon is painted red. Powers noted that red paint, having a war-like significance, was introduced among the Yokuts from the Mono about 1860 and among the Karok with the Ghost dance of 1870. Miss A. H. Gayton also found that the ghost dance of 1870 brought red and black face paint into more general use among the Foothill Yokuts. At the same time the Moapa state that their red paint is derived from Shivwits territory, the Cahuilla that theirs is from Arizona, and the Mohave derive at least the best of theirs, like the Havasupai, from the Walapai. The Pima formerly obtained the paint from the Mohave, but in recent years from the Yuma. Finally a Southern Diegueño stated that it was brought from the Mohave country about 1875. On the other hand, the Salinan made red pigment of cinnabar, mined in that region.[3]

Tattooing is a practice which in the Southwest is almost entirely confined to the lower Colorado tribes and their neighbors. Mohave, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai women only are usually tattooed; the decoration is restricted to the chin, usually in the form of a few lines drawn downward from the corners of the mouth or under the lower lip.[4] In addition the lower eyelid of Pima men and women is tattooed and men have marks on the temples and forehead. Similarly, both sexes among the Havasupai, Walapai (?), and White Mountain Apache[5] are tattooed, but only in the simplest fashion with small marks. Tattooing sometimes occurs among the Pueblos and the Northern Shoshoni, but it is no more than this. On the other hand, the Navaho do not tattoo,[6] and it may be suspected that this was formerly true of the Pueblos and White Mountain Apache.[7] 171 304

[1] Corbusier, 281.
[2] Lowie, (i), 297. But all the Maricopa painted red in token of amity, according to Patte (132).
[3] Powers, 42, 381, 397. Powers assumes a war-like implication for red paint, but Miss Gayton tells me that this was an error of the local whites, while the ghost dance was entirely peaceful in Yokuts thought. Lowie, (i), 311; Kroeber, (g), 63; Russell, (d), 101; Spier, (e), 341; Mason, J. A., (a), 129.
[4] Kroeber, (a), 284; Whipple, 114; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33; Stratton, 74; Trappel, 565 f; Heintzelman, 48; Spier, (e), 342; Bartlett, II, 228; Hrdlička, (e), 45; Russell, (d), 102; Corbusier, 280 f.
[5] Dorsey, G. A., (b), 185.
[6] Lowie, (a), 182. For Zuñi see Sinclair, 280; Franciscan Fathers, 74, 806.
[7] According to Hrdlička (d), 490 the older San Carlos are not tattooed, the younger ones having recently learned the custom from the Mohave.

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Sinyella took up a position beside Rock Jones, a shaman who carried the drum, facing a pole set up at the center of the dance ground. [527] [535] Here they sang. Rock Jones wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of his belt; a mask-like band of brown paint was drawn across his eyes. [301] [302] Others hesitated to join, until one old woman, bursting into an exhortation to dance, set an example. The circle of dancers, men and women interspersed (*djĭkddjĭ'kĭgd*, dove-tailed), stood shoulder to shoulder holding hands, with the drummer usually within the circle. In joining hands the backs are in contact and the fingers dove-tailed. The dancers stood while singing the phrase several times, until all had caught the rhythm; then they began moving slowly in a sinistral circuit with a short, sidewise shuffling step. The legs were held nearly straight, though a slight swaying movement was given to the trunk; there was no stamping or accentuation of steps. Drumming consisted of single thumps marking each step, without any preliminary or concluding beats. The dancing continued for several minutes, until the circle had returned to its initial position for the third or fourth time. While they stood for some minutes the composition of the group changed. During such intervals the two chiefs and Rock Jones, the shaman, harangued the crowd, which was not particularly attentive. Four hours passed before the dancing became spirited and nearly continuous, when the greatest number of dancers, twenty-seven, were engaged. Only about a third of those present danced; the non-dancers were chiefly the oldest women, young children, and some middle-aged men. Children of eight or nine took part, and even several persons with physical infirmities were encouraged to dance and shown marked consideration. The older women at least knew the dance songs as well as the men.

[533] [533]

During the dance a grotesquely masked lad (*gĭdjĭ'nd*) dashed into the group, scattering the children. His function is to frighten non-participants into dancing. He beckons them to enter with the switches he carries; if they fail to heed he drags or scourges them into the circle. On this occasion he used the switches on children and dogs, went through a pantomime of shooting them with a gun, and pretended fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His trunk was painted with black and white horizontal stripes; he wore short black trousers with torn, flapping legs, and a white cloth mask. This was a bag drawn in about the neck, having short sticks to which down was attached fixed like horns in the upper corners. Round eye and mouth holes were cut and marked on the face. In each hand he carried a willow branch.

[302]

The dance broke up at nightfall, families leaving without formality. The drum was abandoned on the dance ground. Nearly every adult and

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1918, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "Ahaʼle", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamita, a chief, bellowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakaiya, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief ashlewood the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

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338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

> As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Hckdyágdllga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*Ti'igdgwaáwd*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígdlyúg sadá'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555.
[2] See Montandon for an account of these.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

MALES (Continued)

551 | *Approximate Age* | *Name* | *Explanation* | *Derivation*

44	nádá hualkámpú'dá, wooden legs.	Used crutches when he broke his leg a few years ago.	hual, pine tree; mábada legs.
	pan,ágwaiá. shabby man. n,maigámánya, soft breasts.	Usual name; always wears old clothes. Before his first marriage he felt the girl's breasts and told some other boy they were soft.	ápa, man; nigwaiá, shabby. n,ámaiá, breasts; mánya, soft.
	pagátaiá, old man. djinyáhó, head hanger.	Usual name. When he was a small boy, he went about with hanging head.	djinyahágá, to hang one's head; hu", head.
	mátdyá		ámát, dirt; tdyá, nothing.
44	suwí'mim	Boyhood name; perhaps given by a foreign Indian.	
	smadigádá'toá, deaf.	Usual name; he is hard of hearing.	smádigá, ears; dátoá, not to hear well.
45	wavaskwimá, house-standing.		háwa, house; skwimá, (a living thing) standing up.
47	payá, man's mouth.		ápa, man; ya, mouth.
48	pasmádigá, man's ears. támóevá, to slide over the edge of a bank.	Usual name.	ápa, man; smádigá, ears.
49	pagatáe, short man. tiláwiná, knob on the end of a stick.		tegtiluidigá, knob on end of a stick.
	wódo wákágámá, creaking house.		háwa, house; kágamá, creaking noise.
84 [302]	gúdékóvá, knot of back hair.	He was the only man to retain this when the agent induced them to cut their hair short.	káváwa, hair.
	apdyukáinya, blind man. wasko'goma	Usual name; went blind recently.	ápá, man; yu, eyes; inyág, black. háwá, house; skág, to force the beans out of green pods.

2:1iff T-S (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tassum NT14
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Policeman Vesnor, whose somber eyes reflect the iron will and fearlessness of primitive tribal life, had been healed by the Great Healer. Later, when a very old man, he was converted to the Christian religion

[p. 116J]

2-Iliff T-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumsas NT14
Havasupai

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Some Havasupai children have an uninhibited watermelon feast

[p.116K]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sutam* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of her chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythings. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

After the sun had dropped in the west and the canyon walls had cooled somewhat, the Indians assembled at the dance ground, the space previously cleared and encircled by poles interwoven with green boughs. The song leader and the drummer took their stand near a pole in the center of the floor; the men formed a circle about them. Manakadja, as head chief, stood aloof; to him fell the responsibility of correcting any part of the ceremony that varied from ancient custom.

At a signal from the drummer, the men started to dance. The women broke the circle, separating the men, interlocking fingers with them. Shoulder to shoulder, the dancers moved slowly to the left with short, shuffling steps, knees slightly bent, bodies swaying to the rhythm. The dance was orderly, but the weird singing increased in volume until the pole had been circled three or four times, when Manakadja interrupted to harangue the crowd. After he had finished, the circle formed again and the dance continued.

The drum, on which the drummer thumped vigorously, was similar to one I had seen that summer, standing on end where the drummer had carelessly left it after a dance. It was a section of hollow cottonwood log with hide stretched over both ends. The drums of their forefathers had been pottery vessels, in which they poured a little water. The hide stretched over the mouth of the jar was moistened and made taut by upending the vessel. Such drums had naturally been quite common among a pottery-making people; and though there was now a strange absence of pottery, its production had obviously been discontinued only in the recent past. In many places in the canyon floor I had dug up broken clay vessels, whose worn surfaces showed the marks of long and hard usage. They were of a dull gray, crudely decorated in black, and lacked the artistic quality found in the exquisitely finished work of the modern pueblos. Why and how these people had lost the art of pottery-making is one of the mysteries of their changing culture.

The fantastic facial decorations, a band of paint across the eyes, or the face striped with many colors, made some of the dancers unrecognizable. Gala costumes were donned, with coyote or fox

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

3:James T-5 (ca.1908) 1903

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14

Havasupai

Walapai

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A Wallapai Woman pounding Acorns.

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Chickapanagie's Wife, a Havasupai, parching Corn in Basket.

[Facing p. 210]

3-James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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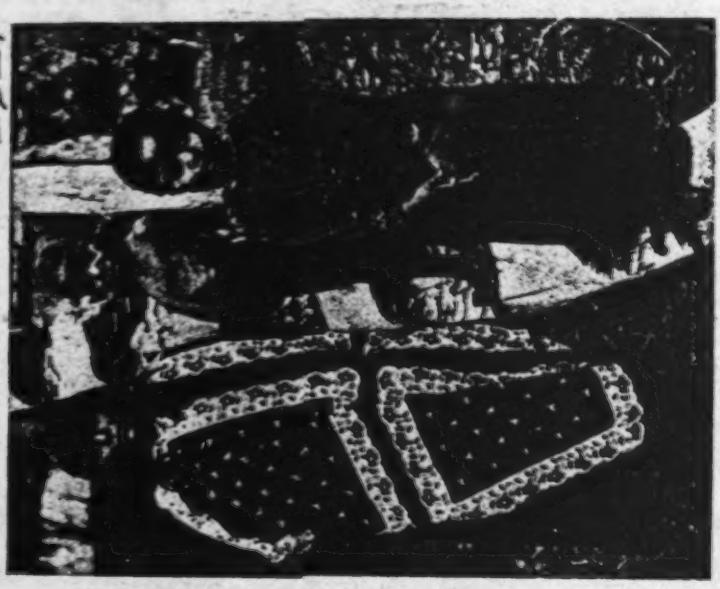

A Family Group of Havasupais.

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Havasupai Mother and Child.

[Facing p. 216]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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LAHOMAH'S WIFE. A HAVASUPAI.

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WALUTHANGA'S DAUGHTER, WITH ESUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

[FACING p. 230]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Havasupai

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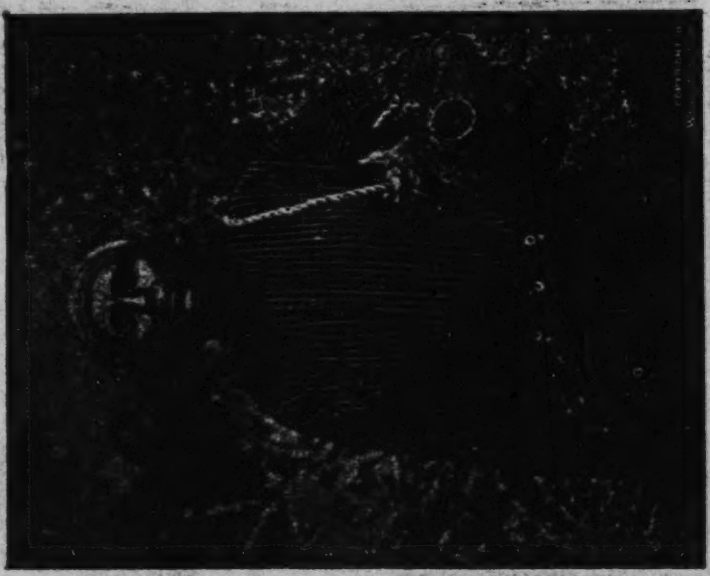

Bintela, with Ezuwa, going for Water.

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Rock John, Leading Medicine Man of Havasupais.

[Facing p. 256]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

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Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities.

Birth Customs

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At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) [515] [278] [854]

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To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

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A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. [302] [438]

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
514 the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without
[834] pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

868 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old, when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained,
[177] an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
553 two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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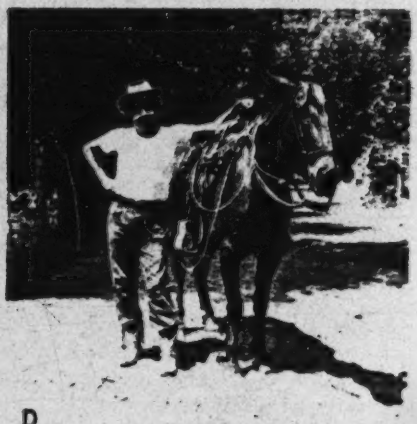

D

Fig. 14. Adolescence and youth. A, Linda Chick, age 12. B, Neil Uqualla, age 12. C, Lorena Marshall, age 17. D, Bert Jones, age 25.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. [301] Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. [783] Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [826]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
302

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it,
[841] because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[177] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
386 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a
415 primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
881 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
302 munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[114] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained
[822] from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 981

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

291 ship period.

302 832 [114] Spier (1928,183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 [301] In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[237] [285] [415] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

[177] [301] [302] Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver, turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

[768] [177] Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home. 291 [177]

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the margin of which lay the Havasupai." 291 287

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders. Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied together strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them. 302● 302 177

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they are discovered on a child. 302 515

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disre-
garded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selec-
tion of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has
gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically
to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further,
to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside
and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception,
it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents,
the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
● [302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and
groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their
bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward
the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four succes-
sive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly
married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this
pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in
recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its
practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning
the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly
and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

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Fig. 15. Maturity. A, Lillian Paya, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B, Jack Jones, age 34. C, Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D, Ethel Jack, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 515] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [847]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumuna NT14
Ikwerogwai

Fig. 18. Old age. A, Sapsi Shorty Mentoya, about 74. B, Allen Akuku, about 74. C, Spoonhead, age 86. D, Sapsi Mary Wesonguma, age 86. Both Spoonhead and Sapsi Mary are now deceased. Allen is a shaman, and official advisor to the youthful head chief.

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Fig. 17. Women weaving baskets. A. Coiling technique; a hole is punched with an awl. B. Weft element threaded around three-rod foundation in coiling technique. C. Beginning a basket to be woven in twining technique. D. Carrying position for burden basket may be with tumpline around bearer's head, as shown, or with tumpline across chest and shoulders. Women pictured are, in sequence, Edith Petaoy, Lina Idlicava, Mamie Chick (last two photographs).

plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed under trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vegetables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns, and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

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Mark Hanna's ninety-two-year-old sister Susie has outlived two husbands and is the oldest living Havasupai.

512 Even the children cease their endless play and turn their steps homeward as their stomachs tell them it is time for the final and heartiest meal of the day.

000 If, while the people of the canyon are ending another day, a visitor were walking among them, he might easily speculate that the future of the Havasupais will depend on the wisdom with which they confront the problems arising from the ever-increasing changes in an aboriginal way of life touched as yet but superficially by the Twentieth Century.

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Havasupai ('blue or green water people'). A small isolated tribe of the Yuman stock

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HAVASUPAI MAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

(the nucleus of which is believed to have descended from the Walapai) who occupy Cataract canyon of the Rio Colorado in x.

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HAVASUPAI WOMAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

w. Arizona. Whipple (Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. 1, 82, 1856) was informed in 1850 that the "Cosnince" roamed from the

[P. 537 B]
[P. 537 A not processed]

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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AN HAVESU-PAI LODGE IN SU-PAI CAÑON, ARIZONA.

[p. 390 - B]

142 small, though admirably formed, with noticeably large knee-joints, which, being more developed inside than out, almost touch in walking. The feet are small and well-shaped, but are very large-jointed in the old. Hair is permitted to grow, as with white people, about the chest and armpits, and sometimes a slight mustache is cultivated by the young, while a considerable tendency to beard is frequent with old men. The eyebrows are not marked; but the hair of the head is long, soft, abundant, and a beautiful glossy raven or brown-black. With boys it is kept closely cut, with the exception of a very small tuft at the crown, five to seven inches in length, looking not unlike the plume of the California quail, which I believe it imitates. Their features correspond so nearly to those of the Pueblo Indians, especially the Zuñi, as to make the resemblance in some cases personal, the greatest variety of expression being seen. The heads are short and round, or brachycephalic; foreheads very low and sloping, the supraorbital arch being notably prominent; faces broad at cheek-bones, which, though really quite flat, appear prominent. A rather constant type of face among them is, in common with the Amazonian, decidedly Mongolian. Their noses are straight or slightly aquiline, rather broad, with somewhat heavy nostrils; their eyes small, bright when good, and very prominent in the sockets. They are not, however, generally as good as those of the plains Indians, cases of partial and total blindness being common, due, probably, to the glaring rock-walls and whitish sandy bottom of their cañon. The ears are well shaped and small; the mouths are large, with only moderately thin lips, the upper generally slightly overhanging the lower. The chin recedes slightly, and the face is well marked with deep wrinkles, especially between the eyebrows and around the eyes; deep lines extend from the nostrils to the corners of the

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291 the neck — to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va-
301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of
[304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell
[556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows, — which, even when natural, are not pronounced, — and almost always

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

[P.549A]

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

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755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

212 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

751 The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [342] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- [825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [171] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

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522 Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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535 Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

[302]

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796 Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai,

[114]